

President
Saddam Hussein's
Speech on
National Day (1981)

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**President Saddam Hussein's
Speech on
National Day (1981)**

The Thirtieth Anniversary of the 17-20
July 1958 Revolution

Published by the State Press for Translation
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**President Saddam Hussein's
Speech on
National Day (1981)**

**The Thirteenth Anniversary of the 17-30
July 1968 Revolution**

Published by: Dar Al-Ma'mun for Translation
and Publishing. Baghdad, 1981

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In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful,
Sons of Great Iraq,
Masses of the Glorious Arab Nation,

The anniversary we celebrate annually on this day, the anniversary of the 17-30 July 1968 Revolution, is not a mere occasion even if it is called great and prominent. To Iraqis it has rightly become the anniversary of the new birth and life, of the dawn of revival and progress and of the start of the course of pride and glory. It is not we who referred to the Revolution [of July 1968] and its anniversary as having these qualities. Rather, it is the people who have genuinely and sincerely expressed these qualities, through their attitude towards the Revolution, their adherence to it and their belief in the Revolution's aims. When the Revolution broke out thirteen years ago we put ourselves, our aims and our programmes to the test before

you, and before the [Arab] nation.

After the bitter experience they suffered and after various failures in the course of national action — whether in Iraq or in the Arab homeland at large — the Iraqi people have, since the outset and for many years, dealt with the Revolution from a position of sincere interest in this test.

The [Iraqi] people did not offer the Revolution their confidence by chance, nor did they in the beginning give it their absolute support. Rather, they watched the Revolution strictly and critically and dealt with it with awareness until they increasingly came to realize that both the people and the Revolution are but one body. They have also come to realize that the Revolution is a genuine offspring of the history of Iraq and the Arab nation, and that it is the mature and true experiment which has crowned a hard and bloody course of national struggle [on the level of individual countries and on the national Arab level] which is full of lessons. Thus our people today put the July Revolution in such a high place in their own history, present life and future.

After such a long course, we have feelings of pride, confidence and peace of mind. This is not because the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party and the Leadership have passed the test (we have never viewed the Revolution

from a personal or a party point of view) but because our people have bypassed the stage of anxiety and frustration [and reached] the path of freedom, revival and glory. Praise be to Almighty God for all that has been realized and congratulations to you, great Iraqis, on what you have achieved. You rightly deserve good and glory. You are a people which has offered a lot to life. Thousands of years ago, you offered great civilizations to humanity and lit the torch of science and knowledge. Together with other sons of your great Arab nation, you contributed — with great distinction — to spreading the great heavenly messages. Throughout eras of decline, you, your fathers and grandfathers lived for centuries under oppression, tyranny, backwardness and poverty. Your enemies thought that you had lost your historical opportunity for ever. But — despite all that you suffered during those dark stages of your history — you have proved that you are a living people, that you are the sons of a living and vigorous nation, and that you are the descendants of those great ancestors, the well-known historical leaders, constructors, originators of civilization and Message-bearers.

Brothers,

On this occasion it is only natural to talk about the

achievement of the Revolution in various fields. However, I am not going to talk now with figures and plans — despite our adherence to science and planning as a basic approach in the Revolution — leaving this to my comrades specialized in various fields.

The genuine achievements are those which generate concrete and deep effects on the people's life and potential. Having lived its contemporary history, we, the sons of this country, can easily draw a comparison between our moral and material situation before and after the Revolution.

Last year, I said on the same occasion that in the years that followed the Revolution, Iraq had moved decisively and comprehensively from one age to another — from the age of servitude, exploitation, poverty, backwardness and weakness to the age of freedom, justice, prosperity, progress and strength.

This is the essence of the Revolution's achievement — which is a source of our pride. The real value of this achievement is remarkably highlighted today, in this great battle which we are fighting against Iranian aggression. Iraq has achieved victory in ten months of heroic fighting against an aggressive state, whose population and size are more than three times those of Iraq, and whose military power was until recently [before the war] considered among the strongest and

most modern in the world.

Iraq has achieved victory while fighting alone, without any support from a great power or an international group. Many parties, in fact, have been trying to blockade, pressurize and weaken it.

When, in the past, great powers took similar measures — or even less than those taken against us — against Third World and some Arab countries, they could no doubt neutralize their will, force them willingly or unwillingly to abandon their rights and accept humiliating solutions. But you have not submitted to pressure, nor have you been affected by blockading. Iraq has been able to lead its own way, and to meet all the needs of maintaining the battle, by its own will and means, and by its own ability to run its international relations from a position of equality, strength and full independence.

For the first time in modern history a Third World state has successfully fought a defensive war — the longest such war between regular armies since the Second World War — without being under the umbrella of a particular military pact or the influence of a particular great power; and without suffering any shackles on its will and independence, or abandoning its principles and policies.

Brothers,

Throughout the past glorious ten months you have been fighting as though you were at a wedding. You are obviously not for evil but for good, fraternity and peace. You are the sons of a nation that has offered the values of justice to humanity and fought evil and corruption.

But once you felt that evil and aggression against your land, sovereignty and honour were imminent, posing a grave threat to your possessions, wives, children, mothers and values, you fought the aggressors heroically and valiantly. Your stance and your feats in this war are reminiscent of those of your ancestors who fought during the time of the Islamic Message in the battles of Yarmuk, al-Qadisiyah and Hittin.

You have proved yourselves brave and courageous, with no weaknesses or wavering. Throughout all this, and from a position of power and pride, you held the banner of peace, offering your enemy the return of its territory once it recognized your rights and accepted to live as an honest and peaceful neighbour.

Is this not among the greatest achievements realized under the Revolution after long centuries of frustration, fear and surrender; and in an Arab situation that rarely witnesses a firm will of confrontation and pride against aggression? This has happened at a time when

some regimes have opted for capitulation to the Zionist enemy while other regimes are at a complete loss.

You have fought courageously, putting all your potential into the battle. Pouring out onto the front lines were Iraq's best sons — Army and Border Guards, officers and soldiers, the fighters of the Popular Army, engineers, teachers, physicians, technicians, civil servants, members of the internal security forces. Nevertheless, besides your remarkable achievements in the battlefields, you have maintained the course of construction and progress. You have continued the construction of hospitals, factories, farms, schools, institutes of science, technology and culture.

Progress and development continue all over the country. Constructive work has continued with a steady increase both comprehensively and deeply as a result of the battle.

This has been the greatest such achievement under the Revolution. It was the greatest challenge in life today. By this achievement you have defeated the enemy's plan, both in principle and in result.

The Persian aggression against Iraq was a result of the arrogant, racist and evil attitudes of the ruling clique in Iran. At the same time, it was a Zionist and imperialist conspiracy aimed at liquidating Iraq's

revival and checking its development for decades. It tried to strip you of your shining mind and heart, in the same way as it tried to destroy the scientific, cultural and technical bases of your new revival. But you, with courage, patience and efficiency — thanks to the Revolution's achievements — have been able to meet a challenge which many peoples in the world may fail to meet, and which some countries in the Arab homeland have indeed failed to meet.

You have achieved victory on the battlefield, and in the field of construction and progress. For this reason, the Zionist enemy launched its aggression against the nuclear reactor in Baghdad on 7 June 1981. Had you not faithfully and efficiently met the challenge posed by the Persian enemy on 4 September 1980 (when it shelled Iraqi towns) and had you surrendered to its evil and aggressive will, the Zionist enemy would not have carried out a raid on Iraq [last June], simply because it would not have feared you. The Zionist entity would not have attacked you if you had not achieved victory in your sacred war and if you had not established your ability to lead your own way, to wrest your own opportunity in life with your own means, and to use advanced weapons efficiently. Moreover, it would not have attacked you if — under pressure — you had become satellites of this international party

or the other.

If you had been totally preoccupied with the military battle, halting the process of construction and progress, or if the Persian enemy had been able to check this process, the Zionist entity would obviously have felt that its ends had been realized. It would not have interfered directly by launching an unveiled aggression against you.

But you, great Iraqis, did the opposite. With honour and faith, you have entered the contest and fought valiantly and efficiently. You maintained your own will and independence, and continued your course of revival and construction. So the banners of principles remained high, your hearts remained full of faith and your minds remained shining. Hence the Zionist enemy had no option but to commit its crime openly and before the whole world. In this, it surpassed all its previous methods, exposing all its cards not before us (who know its aggressive, racist and expansionist nature) but before the whole world, which includes some who do not know all the truth, and some who try to provide proper covers to conceal the reality of this enemy for reasons related to their interests and policies.

Brothers,

Your achievements and exploits in this great battle

are a formidable asset to Iraq and the Arab nation in the present and in the future. The agreement of the Zionist entity and the ruling clique in Iran on launching an aggression against Iraq, on promoting campaigns of hate against it and on attempts to weaken its position is a great honour for us. It confirms the correctness of our course and of our appraisal of the problems, dangers and challenges facing the Arab nation.

It is also a deep lesson which will consolidate our experience and maturity, and help us meet the dangers and challenges of the future with more preciseness and efficiency.

I am not saying something new, but rather confirming a fact, when I say that we will not submit to Persian aggression and that we will continue fighting it, as we have been doing valiantly, patiently and efficiently over the past ten months. We will maintain this attitude until the tyrant clique in Iran comes to see reason and gives up its rancour and ambitions.

From a position of power and ability, we will sincerely continue our appeal for peace, as we have been doing since the start of the war. We shall co-operate sincerely with the Islamic Conference Organization, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations in their peaceful efforts to achieve a just and honourable solution, ensuring the rights of Iraq and the Arab

nation, and based on the renunciation of tendencies of aggression and expansion, and on the respect for the sovereignty and dignity of all peoples in the region.

Similarly, we will not submit to Zionist aggression and will not give up the path we have chosen, although we know that the recent aggression was not merely a measure decided by the Zionist entity. Rather, it was an expression of a broader conspiracy that extends beyond the Zionist entity. Many well-known international parties prepared for it or facilitated it directly or indirectly.

The aggression of the Zionist entity against the nuclear reactor on 7 June 1981 will not stop the course of scientific and technical progress in Iraq. Rather, it is an additional strong stimulus to develop this course, and to provide it with even greater resources and with more effective protection.

Despite our loss, this aggression confirms that Iraq really stands on the right path, offering the Arab nation a model and helping its governments to define the right or the best approach. This would open before us, the Arabs, brighter prospects for the future.

It confirms what we have always said, that the long conflict between the Arab nation and Zionism will eventually result in our victory. The Arab nation expresses the right and the forward movement of history

while the Zionist entity expresses aggression, crime and racist and expansionist theories which the free peoples have renounced as part of the hated colonial past, and which has to end despite all resources at its disposal and the efforts by imperialism to keep it alive.

Brothers,

Sons of the glorious Arab nation,

Our Arab nation today faces many serious challenges. This is not only a generalized or a traditional notion, but a fact which has to be realized and analyzed with a view to defining the right approaches in Arab nationalist action. While always expressing confidence in the nation and optimism about its future, as a genuine and constant approach in our thought and action, we can in a way ignore the drawbacks and the bitter realities in the Arab situation. From a position of sincerity to the [Arab] nation and to the next generations, we have to warn against mistakes and drawbacks, regardless of the bitterness involved in such an attitude. In this, we do not proceed from hostility or from a desire to arouse squabbles among Arab governments. Rather, we proceed from a concern for the existence of the Arab nation and its future.

Iraq has for ten months been fighting a fierce battle,

in defence of its sovereignty, its integrity, its rights and the rights of the Arab nation. Some Arab brothers may have a particular view of our policy and stance. They may or may not agree with us on this subject or the other. They are right to do so because it is both natural and necessary to have argument, discussion and differences of opinion among brothers. However, was the Arab position on this issue compatible with the objective [Arab] national standards and with the danger of the challenges that are confronting the Arab nation?

We have always said that the Arab nation is exposed to threats and various forms of aggression and blackmail. Every single Arab country, as well as the nation as a whole, should relentlessly and forcefully meet these forms of threat, aggression and blackmail. Those who keep silent over an aggression by any party, even if it is limited, will eventually submit to a large-scale aggression by other parties.

We have never said that the fight against the Iranian aggression and against the expansionist Persian tendencies (which have been demonstrated by various means under successive regimes in Iran) is the decisive battle for the Arabs. What we have said, and still say, is that the fight against Zionism is the main decisive battle for the Arabs. This is a great objective reality, which cannot be denied or underestimated except by

someone who would not only harm the Arab nation and its main causes, but would also overlook the main danger.

However, the realization of the existence of the main danger does not mean that the Arab nation should keep silent on any other danger or blackmail which it may face. If it did so, the battle against the Zionist enemy would almost certainly lose its significance and needs.

The Arab regimes' stands towards the battle which Iraq has been fighting against the ruling clique in Iran have been characterized by certain aspects which, if they were to continue and to be applied to similar cases in the future, would be disastrous to the Arab nation and to any hope of a serious confrontation with the Zionist enemy.

Some Arab regimes have openly and fully sided with the ruling clique, thus stabbing the courageous Iraqi Army which has played and will continue to play a major role in the battle against the Zionist enemy. Whatever the attitudes of these regimes towards our system, I cannot now call their position on our conflict with Iran anything but destructive, because it helps spread an atmosphere of division in the Arab homeland. It also helps legalize the killing of an Arab by a foreigner with Arab means and weapons. This is

exactly the condition which the Zionist entity has been striving to spread among the Arabs, with a view to slaying them one after another, or making the Arabs themselves do the job. Those [regimes] will no doubt suffer the torture of conscience as well as the bitter judgement of history and the masses. This is what some have done. Others have acted towards the battle as if they were not concerned. Thus they embarked enthusiastically on demonstrating a neutral attitude towards it in an attempt to avoid its responsibilities.

As we said previously, we do not want to dictate a view or an attitude to our brothers. But is it acceptable to adopt a neutral attitude and to avoid assuming one's own responsibilities in a battle fought for ten months by one such people and one such great army of this nation? Does this attitude comply with the minimum adherence to the Arab national bond and the principles of Arab solidarity, or solidarity on the basis of common Arab national interests?

Some brothers imagined that by taking this attitude they would avoid trouble. However, we may say with all truth — not out of a desire for their support, because when we chose to fight this battle we decided to rely on ourselves and not seek the help of any brother or friend — that what has happened between Iraq and Iran may happen between many Arab countries and

other foreign parties. The Arab homeland obviously occupies a large area and affords various problems, whether inside or on its borders. There are many foreign powers which harbour ambitious designs on it. These would not distinguish between the rich and the poor or the big and the small among the Arabs.

Siding with this aggressive party or the other, or assuming a neutral attitude towards the challenges confronting this country or the other, would not avert these ambitious designs or guarantee the security and stability of any part of this homeland. These could be ensured only by bearing full responsibility and taking the right [Arab] nationalist attitude. The burdens involved in taking such Arab nationalist attitudes would generate the right and legitimate gains in the present and the future. If we consider the situation seriously and responsibly, would the Zionist entity have dared to attack Iraq on 7 June 1981 if the Arab position had been coherent and strong? Would it have dared to continue its aggression against the Palestinian people and against Lebanon? Would the Persian enemy arrogantly have continued to ignore the requirements of good neighbourliness with the Arabs and Iraq if every one of us had considered an aggression against any part of the Arab homeland as an aggression against himself, and acted accordingly?

Praise be to Almighty God that some brothers have come to realize this point, taking a noble [Arab] nationalist attitude. These brothers have not concealed their real attitudes. They have openly declared their support for Iraq, thus adopting the right principles in pan-Arab relations.

They have taken a stand of right and honour, thus maintaining the hope pinned on Arabism and its implications — which are the essential guarantee against dangers and challenges. I would like to extend the warmest greetings to brother King Hussein and the brotherly Arab people of Jordan, and to brother President Ali Abdullah Salih and the brotherly Arab people of Yemen. A proud, appreciative greeting to all other Arab brothers who have not concealed their stands of support for Iraq. A greeting to all Arab brothers who have offered us unpublicized support, although it is much less than what should have been done. A greeting to all writers who have defended the cause of Arabism in defending the cause of Iraq. A greeting to Arab men of struggle who have supported us in this battle. Thanks to all of them from the people of Iraq and from the Arab nation, beside which they have taken a stand of responsibility, right and honour.

As for those who have adopted other attitudes, v shall not speak about them, not because of any failu

to define responsibility and to say what is right — in this we are known to them, to our people and to the masses of our nation — but because of our own desire to leave the matter to the judgement of the masses of the Arab nation, and of history. We pray to Almighty God to guide us all to the right path, which can serve our nation and open to it the prospects of integrity, power, strength and right development.

Sons of the great Arab nation,

The dangers that are facing the Arab nation require an attitude of responsibility, free from hatred and minor interests. The danger of the Zionist aggression is unquestionably increasing. Also increasing are other ambitious designs on the Arab nation, and attempts even by small or medium-sized foreign powers to interfere in internal Arab affairs. The great-power struggle for influence and interests in this region has unquestionably reached a serious level. We must not ignore the statements and plans which have openly spoken about even the possible occupation of parts of the Arab homeland.

Ever since the fifties — after the failure of the tripartite aggression of 1956 against Egypt, and the liquidation of foreign bases and the Baghdad Pact — the colonialist powers have closed the chapter of direct

military threats. But the United States is now openly talking about establishing a rapid deployment force to control parts of the Arab homeland, on the pretext of protecting its interests there. Also coming to the surface again are American plans for establishing military bases and acquiring military facilities.

Is it, therefore, possible to stand with hands folded in the face of such grave challenges? Can such challenges be met only by statements made by Arab officials about rejecting the establishment of bases without declaring their rejection of military facilities?

We do not think that one could voluntarily agree to offer bases on his territory to a foreign power if he commanded his own will completely and with full awareness. But when there is no responsible and serious national position on meeting these challenges, it is only natural to see a retreat here and a softening of determination there, until the situation comes to an acute level.

The Baghdad Summit [1978] established historic grounds for serious Arab solidarity against any deviation from sound Arab policy. It drew up general lines for Arab policy towards Zionist and imperialist designs, particularly against the Camp David conspiracy.

There is now a great need to adhere to the political

line drawn up by this Summit, to develop it and to have a coherent and strong Arab stance, whether in the international community or in meeting hostile and harmful plans and policies. We do not want to say that there is a direct, public retreat from the line of the Baghdad Summit. However, the Arab situation is developing in a manner indicative of a gradual drift towards disintegration.

We therefore warn against forming regional camps or alliances with a political and tactical nature based on the disintegration of the Arab nation.

Experience has so far shown that no group of Arab countries could alone meet the challenges either on the regional or on the comprehensive pan-Arab level.

To stick to the Arab national bond and develop the line of the Baghdad Summit is the effective approach for meeting the challenges and dangers that face the nation.

In February 1980 we offered the Arab brothers our programme, called the National Declaration. It calls for regulating relations among Arab countries on the basis of the Arab national bond. It also calls for regulating relations between the Arab nation and neighbouring countries on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual respect for sovereignty and integrity. The Declaration also calls for regulating

the Arab nation's relations with the world on the basis of full Arab independence and an effective and free Arab will.

We have not insisted on any of the Declaration's formulas except that concerning its essence, neither have we pressed it emphatically on our brothers because, in offering it, we did not proceed from any need to realize a particular interest for ourselves or for our country. Rather, it is for the basic interests of the Arab nation.

We deeply believe in putting this programme alongside the political line of the Baghdad Summit. We urge our Arab brothers to consider and discuss it and to define a proper, relevant attitude. We hope that the next Arab Summits will afford a serious opportunity to do this.

Brothers,

The other point to which I would like to refer, in a spirit of brotherhood and responsibility, is oil policy.

The oil is a gift bestowed by God on the Arab nation, to use — after centuries of poverty, backwardness and servitude — in raising its living standards, developing its economic, social and cultural conditions, and building up its own power to meet the challenges and conspiracies besetting it.

Each Arab government may have its own view of using this wealth, whether on the local or the pan-Arab level. However, we think that there must be general national rules to which all should adhere in this regard. Safeguards would thus be provided against any harm that may be caused by the action of one party to the basic interests of its brothers and to the general [Arab] national position.

The oil revenue of the oil-producing Arab countries is still their main revenue for meeting their basic needs and the requirements of their development plans. There is still no accumulation of funds in these countries which is sufficient to meet these needs without relying largely on oil revenues.

Moreover, the possession of oil has been the most important element in the Arabs' ability to influence the international situation — as an effective means of opposing Zionist conspiracies and attempts by international parties to weaken the Arab nation and infringe its essential rights.

The Arab nation's struggle for Palestine obviously requires great resources. We can in no way omit this means [oil wealth] from our calculations. Without this means, the Arab nation's capability would dwindle so much that it would be unable to counter effectively the Zionist and imperialist plan, and the humiliating

defeatist solutions which many international parties are trying to dictate to the Arab nation.

This, no doubt, requires from us a correct exploitation of our oil resources, in a manner that could meet the needs of national development plans in our individual countries and serve our [Arab] nationalist causes. This cannot mean adopting a policy of blackmail against oil-consuming countries.

Iraq was among the first to draw attention to the significance of exploiting this wealth positively and to the need for stable international dealings in oil production and marketing. This would help the Arab nation achieve its aims within the context of mutual interests, and equal and legitimate international relations.

This certainly does not mean that this wealth should be given to industrial countries for nothing or at prices even lower than they expect.

We may level a brotherly, though sharp, criticism at certain Arab brothers whose policies of production and marketing have created a big surplus in the oil market. We can in no way find a convincing justification for this policy and its ends. The harm it has caused to the Arab oil-producing countries and to others is very clear. The existence of such an oil surplus in the international market greatly weakens the Arab influence on the

international situation — we seek such influence only to defend our own rights and interests against aggression and expansion, and to realize legitimate objectives in development and construction.

If some oil-producing countries have a surplus of funds, not all of us have such a surplus. Furthermore, we cannot see the rationale behind the level of production which may lead to such a surplus.

We call for a reorganization of production in a proper manner, that would bring about an end to the oil surplus in the international market and restore the balance of supply and demand to this market. If there are any differences over prices, they could be solved through mutual understanding and co-operation within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and not by individual policies which would eventually lead to the weakening of this organization (OPEC) and the creation of divisions among its members.

If some assert that there is no good reason to raise prices, there is equally no good reason to retreat from present prices.

Our oil policies should take into consideration the legitimate interests of Third World developing countries which have been hit by inflation. We have always asserted a clear fact — that world inflation is not only a

result of the rise in oil prices. Such a fabrication is being deliberately promoted by colonialist powers and industrialized countries, with a view to upsetting relations between oil-producing and Third World countries — all of which belong to one human group, which is characterized by similar political, economic and social conditions.

The industrial countries — and not the oil-producers — are primarily responsible for exporting inflation to Third World countries. Hence, on various occasions — and especially at the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana in September 1979 — we have called for the establishment of a long-term international fund to help the developing countries meet the effects of inflation. It was suggested that the developed industrial countries should contribute to this fund, at a similar rate to that of the inflation which they export annually to developing countries. The oil-exporting developing countries were also to contribute to this fund.

We still believe that this is the right approach to handling the effects of inflation. Once again, therefore, we urge the Arab countries concerned to review their policies and give up those which cause harm to us and to all producing countries and weaken our [Arab] nationalist position.

Brothers,

Iraq has established its relations with the countries of the world on the basis of full independence, free will and common interests. This approach has not been easy. We have paid, and are still paying, a high price and we have faced various difficulties. However, we have succeeded remarkably, praise be to God, thus proving that independence is possible and that it is eventually successful in practical terms, besides being the right approach in terms of principles — despite all the difficulties and sacrifice, complex international circumstances, and the escalation of foreign pressure, influences and interests.

We have maintained this policy in times of both peace and war. The war circumstances, despite their many difficulties and demands, have not changed this approach. Rather, it has been genuinely and firmly consolidated.

But we should not imagine that the great powers respect, constantly or absolutely, the independence and free will of peoples. Those peoples keen on their independence should struggle and make vigorous attempts to protect their independence — this is the course which we are, with the help of Almighty God, determined to pursue.

I would like to refer here to attempts sometimes

made by certain parties under the illusion that they are able to exercise influence over us. I may tell them this: we are not the sort of people who can submit to pressure or to enticement, nor are we the sort of leadership which changes its policy under the influence of temporary conditions.

We measure our international relations on the basis of principles and interests. He who is friendly to us, we are friendly to him; he who has reservations about dealing with us, we have reservations about dealing with him; he who does not meet a legitimate interest of our own, we do not meet his; and he who is openly hostile to us, we are openly hostile to him. Let no one in the world imagine that he can inflict harm on us without himself being harmed.

To those who think that they can apply various policies towards the Arab nation and play the game of Arab differences and contradictions, I may say that they are under an illusion. This is a short-sighted policy based on temporary conditions and aimed at immediate interests. He who pursues such a policy will eventually lose the confidence of all.

The Arab nation no doubt contains differences and contradictions. Nevertheless, its strongest will is the will of independence — one destiny, one general approach as one nation, and the desire for free, honest

and equal dealings with the countries of the world. Any country in the world which loses the asset of confidence in dealing with the Arabs will inevitably gain nothing. Despite our differing systems and international relations, the supreme Arab interest urges us to regulate these relations in a manner that can serve this interest as well as the legitimate interests of individual countries.

Any Arab country that established — at the expense of its brother countries — an unbalanced relationship with any country in the world would obviously be adopting an incorrect approach, one which would not be supported either by the people of that particular country or by the Arab nation. The advocates of such an approach would eventually pay a high price for it.

We have to work sincerely and responsibly to thwart any attempt to divide the Arab nation into small groups, with which foreign countries would deal separately. This would eventually be in the interests of Zionism, which stands behind such policies, formulating the relevant theories and promoting distorted information to world politicians, especially in the West, in order to make them adopt an approach which is harmful to the Arab nation and is even against the legitimate interests of their own countries.

We have to tell every foreign state which would

inflict harm on any Arab country that it would inflict harm on us as well. In so doing, we would ensure an international position based on firm respect for the Arab nation. Such a position would also help [the nation] to realize its basic legitimate interests based on straightforward and equal international relations and co-operation.

Brothers,

Iraq will next year host the Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement. Proceeding from a deep and firm belief in the principles of non-alignment, Iraq will exert all possible efforts with a view to meeting its obligations towards the movement and to serving its noble principles and aims. We will also, persistently and constantly, seek the consolidation of solidarity and co-operation among its countries in all political, economic and cultural fields.

We will also work to enhance its weight in international politics; its contribution to supporting the peoples' struggle for freedom, independence and progress; and its role in solving international problems on the bases of justice and equality.

In our estimation, the non-aligned policy is not a normal option, but a historic option for the peoples aspiring to freedom and independence. This policy

affords all that effectively guarantees and enhances their independence and sovereignty, and all that averts the influences exercised by the great powers to weaken their independent development — taking advantage of their hardships, especially in economic fields, and of their need for security against imminent dangers.

Proceeding from its belief in the principles of non-alignment, Iraq has sought to establish closer relations with various non-aligned countries in all political, economic and other fields. We are proud of the existing relations, which are based on uprightness and common benefits, on the principles of freedom and justice, and on serving humanity's just causes.

At this stage, great-power tension has reached a grave level — disarmament talks have been halted, and threats by the great powers to resort to force are almost prevailing.

These conditions doubtless pose a considerable danger to international peace and security. They also pose a serious threat to the basic interests of the majority of world peoples.

World experience has clearly shown that squabbles between great powers do not lead to clashes between them because of the maintenance of the balance of power and the development of awareness in peoples after the Second World War. Yet a great-power war

cannot be definitely ruled out. However, these squabbles are often reflected in the friends or followers of this party or the other or in the still unsettled portions among Third World countries (free from the influence of this great power or the other). It is always possible that armed conflict and wars between countries which often belong to the Third World will ensue from such squabbles — in which case, the peoples of the Third World, who aspire to independence, security and progress, pay a high price.

We stand vigorously for the easing of international tension, which is not only in the interest of the peoples of the great powers but also in the interest of the majority of the peoples of the world. We support such an approach provided that it is not based on a mutual understanding [between the great powers] at the expense of other countries and peoples, or on any form of dividing the world into spheres of influence.

Through its international relations and activity, Iraq will firmly continue to work for the consolidation of peace and stability in the world and for the reduction of great-power tension and armament. Peoples who have an interest in such goals — in the forefront of which are those of the Non-Aligned countries — bear a basic responsibility for achieving these goals and for opposing attitudes and policies which lead to

international tension.

Brothers,

As we start a new year in the blessed course of our Revolution, we are deeply confident and optimistic about the future. Our people has started on the path of freedom, revival and progress. Every year adds more maturity, experience and power to this course.

Greetings to you, great Iraqis — the sons of Basra, Sulaimaniya, Baghdad, Maisan, Nineveh, Najaf, Anbar, Thiqr, Dihouk, Saladdin, Karbala, Erbil, al-Qadisiyah, Muthanna, Diyala, Ta'mim, Wasit, Babylon.

You have defended the Iraqi soil against the disasters of aggression. You have fought heroically, reviving the feats of your great ancestors. You have carried out your duty, upheld your pledge and proved that Iraq is powerful and strong and that no attempt by the enemies or ambitious parties could threaten it.

You have defended the honour, integrity and rights of your country. You have enhanced the position of Iraq and the Arab nation. You have proved that it is a living nation and that it will never submit to injustice, servitude and deviation, despite all negative circumstances and the mean attitudes of some parties. You have proved that our nation is waiting for a historic

opportunity and the objective conditions for freedom and revival.

Dear Martyrs,

We do not address you as men who have passed away, but rather as men who are still living among your own people, among your own brothers in the Armed Forces and among your own honest families. As Almighty God says, those who are killed for the sake of God are not dead but alive under His blessing. You have sacrificed your lives, in defence of right and of Iraq, thus giving the highest example in life.

Be blessed, you men; you have become a source of great pride for Iraq and for your families. Your comrades-in-arms and your compatriots are aspiring to your position, which is the most glorious and great.

Great Iraqi men and women, members of the families of the martyrs,

You have offered the homeland the best thing you could afford. Thus you have come to merit love and gratitude from all Iraqis and from its plains, mountains, skies and waters. You are good sons of this country. You have offered to the country great men who have averted harm from the country and paved its way to glory and greatness.

Iraqi fighters on the front lines,

You courageous officers and soldiers who have been fighting valiantly and efficiently — you have restored the glories of your great Iraq. You have proved that you are the true descendants of those great fighters throughout the ages. You have given the most remarkable example of Arab military power, of which the Arab nation is in need today and tomorrow in its struggle to maintain its existence and integrity, and to restore its usurped rights and territories.

To the fighters in Muhammara; the outskirts of Abadan, Ahwaz and Khafagiya, Huwaiza; Shush and Dezful and to those fighters in Mehran, Sumar, Ghailan, Qasr-e-Shireen, Sarbil Zihab and Nosud hills, we say that the hearts of millions of Iraq's sons are with you, recording your victories and praying for your final triumph. Millions of the Arab nation's sons look at you with admiration and hope. They look forward to the day when they will have a similar atmosphere and requirements to those which helped you realize the intellectual and psychological freedom and creativity [needed] to fight as you have been fighting.

They look forward to the day when you fight for al-Quds [Jerusalem] and for the whole of beloved Palestine. Are you not the same men who, decades ago, shed their blood on that holy land? Are you not the

same men who fought heroically on the Golan Heights? Are you not the same eagles which flew over Sinai?

Greetings to you, fighters in the infantry, tank corps, artillery, air-defence, engineering, air force, navy and all other units of the Army.

A greeting to Commanders, heads of units, officers, non-commissioned officers and to all fighters of our great Army.

A greeting to the fighters of the Border Forces.

A greeting to the fighters of the Popular Army.

A greeting to all good sons of Iraq who have proved that they are up to their commitments, whether those of work and struggle among the masses or those of fighting when the country is threatened and when every citizen has to take up arms.

A greeting to all those who are working on the front lines — those who have built roads and dams, proving that the new citizen in Iraq is stronger than the challenges of nature, and more efficient and clever than the plans and predictions of the enemies.

Thank you all for your remarkable achievements and great victories. You have set great examples in the battle-zones — with your minds and your arms. With this spirit and that of the courageous fighters, we will continue, with God's help, to build a powerful and advanced Iraq.

A greeting to all those who have contributed to the battle with an enlightened mind, a creative brush, an honest pen and a patriotic song.

A greeting to all those who have borne the burden of war and met its needs in all fields, thus winning for this people — which has succeeded in all stages and chapters of the battle — the admiration of the Arab nation and the world at large.

Brothers,

We extend our warmest greetings to all those who have stood with us in this honourable battle, to all those friends — the fighters for freedom, justice and progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America — who have supported us and expressed a true stance of solidarity against the Zionist aggression.

A greeting to all honest persons in the world who have taken a stand of right and conscience against racialism and aggression. A greeting of gratitude to all honoured guests who are sharing with us our celebrations of the anniversary of the Revolution [National Day]. We confirm our admiration of their attitudes and our great interest in maintaining their friendship, wishing their peoples all good and progress.

Thank you.

زیر مسند السید ریشیہ انیساب الحف
قرمہ شافعیہ شافعیہ شافعیہ
توفیق ریشیہ شافعیہ

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية : ١٩٨١

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية : ١٩٨١
الطبعة الانكليزية

رقم الايداع في المكتبة الوطنية : ٨٧٢ لسنة ١٩٨١
الطبعة الانكليزية

خطاب السيد الرئيس صدام حسين
في الذكرى الثالثة عشرة لثورة
السابع عشر من تموز

ترجمة : ناجي الحديثي

اصدار : دار المأمون للترجمة والنشر
بغداد - ١٩٨١